848 /178/ the cabildo until she names the father of her child. If he
623 is an unmarried young man, he must marry the girl. A married man, however, is beaten by the cabildo. He does not need to make support payments. It is different if a married man has no
842 children. In this case the wife is regarded in principle as the one
848 at fault. He may then have a child by an unmarried girl without
837 being punished. He simply explains to the cabildo that he has a
[623] great deal of property and that he therefore needs children whom he cannot have by his wife. To the mother of his natural child he gives a cow, clothing, and a pretty belt, and she then surrenders her child to the lawful wife of the father of her child. He may
[554] do this several times until he has enough children. This is not permitted, however, for a poor man without possessions, it was explained to me, for "why does he need children?"

844 At the time of menstruation and also at the birth of a child
841 the woman stays in a special small hut (dúyat). She receives her
[343] food either from her mother, sister, or a neighbor woman from a house in which several women live. This woman at the same time cooks for the members of the family of the menstruating woman. The members of the family of the woman who is temporarily cooking receive their meals from another female member of her family. The woman who takes care of the food also fetches the wood for the fire necessary for warmth in the dúyat. Female inhabitants of farms or of field huts used for only a few months, which have no
[758] dúyat, go to a neighboring or related family for this period. In
[602] case the housewife becomes ill, she moves into the house of one of her sisters or female relatives, where she is nursed. The male relatives of the sick woman must then likewise go to the house of this relative to eat.

614 Besides the patrilineal nuclear families, no recognized patrilineal kin-groups /Sippen/ are known among the Paez, but all who bear the same family name feel related and may not marry, even though they are not knowingly -- this knowledge goes back only two generations -- related. Our interpreter, Victoriano Piñakuẽ, for example, may not only not marry any girls with the patronymic Piñakuẽ, but also no girls whose mothers are named Piñakuẽ. Conditions are particularly difficult among the

/183 cont./

601 Forms of address:

father and mother together (whether by their own children or other persons)	ovényi or pětãm
father and son together (by other persons)	pěndyĩk
father and daughter together (by other persons)	pěndyĩs
mother and son together (by other persons)	pěndyĩk
mother and daughter together (by other persons)	pěndyĩs

3. Customs during the Course of Life and of a Day

182 593 [157] [114] The Paez generally give the impression of being contented human beings, and it seems that marriage and family life are better than average. Of course, the observations on this are very scanty, for, on account of the remote location of the individual dwellings, the research worker always has only a brief glimpse of family conditions at any one time. This very solitude, however, and the consciousness of greater dependence on one another within the family favors its cohesion, even as it reduces the conflict and irritation which arise through women's gossip when people live too closely on top of one another.

842 [123] Basically every family wants a great many children -- at any rate so said all the men questioned. Two Calderun women, however, /184/ confided to my wife that there was a remedy -- which they and other women, too, naturally did not use! -- that [825] would with certainty prevent conception: One must eat some of [237] the spittle of a mula (the female, infertile cross between horse and donkey), and then one would no longer have children. They said that a woman does this only when she has already given birth to a great many children. In general every girl desires a great one

In general
842 /184 cont./every girl desires a great
[581] many children, for this is the chief requirement for being married.
Moreover, the percentage of barren women -- in childless marriages,
[162] they say, the fault is always the woman's -- is not small. Accord-
ing to inquiries, it comes to about 10 per cent. Men generally
want boys; the women, girls, in order to have help in the house-
845 hold. Twin births are rare, but they are not regarded as anything
special; rather, people are happy about them as they are about
other children. Deformities at birth are said not to occur; how-
ever, I saw several persons with cleft palates. They seem to be
ashamed of this, for in conversations with us they always held
847 their hands over their mouths. Infanticide does not occur. To
123 inquiries about this, there was always the completely horrified
counterquestion as to whether that was the case in my country.
165 Overpopulation is not to be feared, even with a larger number
[163] of children -- the average is three to four living children per
family -- since infant mortality comes to more than 50 per cent.
[164] Whooping cough is the most frequent cause of death among small
children.

a) Birth and Childhood

843 The parents' concern for the child begins even before birth.
The husband of a pregnant woman expecting her first child must
sleep with her very frequently, for otherwise the child would be
very weak. In the case of subsequent children this is no longer
[783] required so often after the beginning of pregnancy. The pregnant
woman may not leave the house or eat pork for two months before
the birth, since this causes "pest" and she would have stomach
[822] pains; this would be very detrimental to the child. For the same
reason she may not eat beans and onions, and no fish because it
comes from the cold element, water, and because a pregnant
woman must not become cold.

843 According to one informant, the pregnant woman retires
343 to the menstruation hut (dúyat) two to three weeks before the
124 birth. During this time her mother or another female relative
cooks for the family. According to another informant, the
000 /185/ woman does not retire to the dúyat until the birth. In any

/307 cont./

241/132 April, May, June, October, November, and December. Naturally, these periods of summer are relative and correspond in reality to the temperate zone. In Mosoco and the high parts of the Cordillera, /308/ a fine rain is falling almost constantly, if not an actual downpour. In July, August, and September, the winter is harsh, influenced entirely by the trade winds from the southeast.

Bearing these climatic factors in mind, planting is done during the months of March, April, and May. They take advantage of the rains of these months. This agricultural cycle is common for all of Tierradentro including Mosoco proper. The "páramuna" part of Mosoco is excepted, for the reasons listed earlier.

243 Of the cultivable species, maize occupies the dominant place in the agricultural activity of Tierradentro. The preparation of the soil differs somewhat in the temperate and cold thermal levels. Whereas cleaning out and burning the underbrush are sufficient in the temperate one, planting beds are made in the cold one. Maize seed is selected from the best and most filled-out ears, avoiding the small kernels at the points. They believe that they would not fruit, calling them, for this reason, "maize-man," and, on the other hand, calling the big kernels [842] that yield produce "maize-woman." They make the association that it is the women who have children, even though they do not conceive of fertility without concourse with the man.

243 It is common to have mingas for sowing. In this way the 244 work is soon finished. On the appointed day, eight to ten 476 laborers assemble, with bags full of maize tied at their waists; [462] they start sowing very early. This is a masculine activity, al- [184] though in Lame and Mosoco women also participate. The holes are made with a strong, pointed stick at intervals of one meter and 50 centimeters and to a depth of 10 to 15 centimeters. Six or seven kernels are placed in each hole. They bury the frijole next to the logs that remain from the clearing. Peas are also commonly sown there. The seeds of bottle gourds and ahuyama/ squash, /Cucurbita maxima/, which are sown in the maize fields,

/336 cont./

423 no rights over land won by the sweat of the brow. It is inherited
623 directly by the sons. In such cases the cabildo confirms owner-
428 ship by issuing the respective adjudication.

423 When the colonization has been done by several persons,
578 usually brothers, and the division of the land does not satisfy one of the parties, famous litigations take place that eat up the small savings of the families. The feeling for ownership of land is highly developed among the natives, and the usurpation of the slightest piece of ground gives rise to quarrels, enmities, and
42 litigations. The sale of land to "whites" is prohibited by
[648] Colombian law and by the consuetudinary law of the natives. But among the natives themselves transactions can be made with immovables. They do not sell the land, but the ownership. The owner of land is the man. A widow, too, can be an owner by inheritance from the husband. Single women do not own land.

422 The bovine, equine, porcine, and wool-bearing livestock belong to the man, although a few women own pigs and sheep. Turkeys, chickens, cats, and guinea pigs belong to the women, and so do dishes, spoons, pots, grinding stones,
[428] calabashes, and bags. These are inherited through the female line. Children are owners merely of their own clothes.

423 Concerning communal property, we have already seen that in each parcialidad there are several hectares of land that
[794] belong to all the members of the parcialidad. Also regarded as communal property are public works, such as roads, bridges, the main ditches, the house of the cabildo, and the church, and they collectively maintain them; likewise regarded as the property of the parcialidad are the sums of money collected for the church, the produce of the clearing of the saint, and any livestock or mills that it might own.

428 Concerning inheritance, let us look first at the concepts
[842] expressed by an informant from Calderas. Asked about the ideal number of children for native families, he replied that everyone wished to have many children. "When one dies and one has land, who can handle it? The ancestors worked the montaña, and this is why we have land. We are five brothers and we work

/179 cont./

594 Associated with the nuclear family primordially are the functions of reproduction, the rearing of children, and the education of the latter. On procreation depends also the importance of economic functions.

581 The orientation of the sexual instinct is a secondary end.
589 Indeed, Páez culture demands that every individual form a
[183] family, once he has acquired the capacity for procreation. In
[842] the parcialidad of Calderas they look upon children as a blessing
[775] from God, regarding celibates "como violadores de la cruz" /as violators of the cross/(marriage); celibacy is condemned, in the rationalization that the person who dies celibate goes to the
[754] Nevado del Huila, considered by them as hell. The celibacy of a woman is exceptional, and when it occurs they believe that she becomes a witch. They think something similar about some
581 widows. One woman of some fifty years of age says that
589 "marriage is fundamental and obligatory, for the grandfathers
775 used to say that to a woman who is not married the devil gives a black dog for a husband in hell" (7). Another woman declared

[825] 7. They regarded white dogs as companions and guides in the future life and fear that "if molested they will come out and bite them at the entrance to the future abode."

that at times she feels sorrow for the death of an unmarried daughter, "because the devil would give her a husband."

581 The culture considers it an obligation of parents to marry
183 off their daughters even if they are very young. Furthermore
[582] the young men aspire to "build their house, marry, produce children, have animals, coca in abundance, and sugar cane
[842] for their chicha" (8). The incentive to marry is to have children,

8. Bernal Villa, S. 1953, op. cit., p. 183.

for which purpose it is necessary to have assurance /180/ that the woman is fecund,

/180 cont./

the woman is fecund. For this the culture offers the institutional device of "amaño," by which the man lives with the woman for a time before legalizing the marriage. And we are given clear and precise information about this by Licenciado Eugenio del Castillo y Orozco and his brother, Licentiado Isidro del Castillo y Hrozco /sic/, in their respective reports which they gave to the Governor and Captain General mentioned above: "that they followed the evil custom of living in intimate relations for a long time with the woman whom they were to marry, and if after the marriage they had no offspring they would leave her and seek another woman who might be fecund and whom they thought they might marry if they were not married to their own wives (as Manuel Bolza, an Indian of this village (9), wished

9. Tálaga.

to do), and as was done by Antonio Cofongo (an Indian of San Antonio de las Chinas), from whom he learned not to break up the legitimate religious marriage, which could be prohibited, and who suggested that they get out of the difficulty by any false means, even to arranging for others, from the lowest Indian to the highest, to testify to a lying statement, and if anyone dissented from it and would not follow the wish of the Cacique or Moján, fear caused the dissenters to escape to other parts; some fled with their concubines when they were not acceptable to her parents or relatives, others to avoid work, and others from necessity" (10) ..."and that they flee from all their vices and

10. Archivo Nacional de Bogotá, op. cit., Folio 228.

sins, which are: witchcraft, drunkenness, and concubinage" (11).

11. Archivo Nacional de Bogotá, op. cit., Folio 230.